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# The Christian Socialist

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## WORDS OF JESUS

BY EDWARD ELLIS CARR

VI.

### THE UNIVERSAL PRAYER

*Our Father*
*Which Art in Heaven:*
*Hallowed be Thy Name.*
*Thy Kingdom Come.*
*Thy Will be Done*
*In Earth, as It is in Heaven.*
*Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread.*
*Forgive Us our Debts*
*As We Forgive our Debtors.*
*And Lead Us not into Temptation,*
*But Deliver Us from Evil.*
*For Thine is the Kingdom,*
*And the Power, and the Glory,*
*Forever. Amen.—Matth. vi. 9-13.*

"Our Father" means that all we are brethren, children of a common parentage, heirs of a common heritage, with equal rights and privileges under the law of justice. "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein:" as children of God, ALL IS OURS BY BIRTH-RIGHT. And those who "join house to house, and field to field," or fortune to fortune, in order to get more than their just proportion, are cheats, exploiters of other men's labor, thieves and robbers. The person who takes by force or fraud the part that belongs to his weaker brother is dishonest and heartless. The plea that "might makes right" is the plea of the jungle, or the gambling table, and will not excuse him. The selfish, gambling, robber methods of modern business must be renounced or the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man must be denied. The "Christian" who justifies the jungle-methods of business is a fool or a fraud. The successful business man unblushingly admits that the principles of the Sermon on the Mount and modern business will not mix. Then there is but one thing a true Christian can consistently do: Renounce the methods of modern business and become a Socialist in the spirit of the apostles. "From every one according to his ability to every one according to his need" is the motto of Socialism and the Apostolic Church. This is brotherhood indeed, and works no injustice to any; but will result in plenty for all.

"Thy Kingdom Come. Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven."

What! the Kingdom of God come and His will be done in Wall Street, the Board of Trade, the Trust, the Mine Syndicate, the Real Estate Deal, the Association to Control Trade, the Broker's Office, the Legislative Lobby? No one pretends that the Will of God is or can be done in these institutions. They do not exist to do the Will of God, but to "do" the helpless people. They must be displaced by collective ownership of all the means of producing wealth and by an equitable distribution of the same before the Will of God can be done or His Kingdom come upon earth.

"Give us this day our daily bread."

Ah, when the Co-operative Commonwealth is established not a single man, woman or child will have to go hungry—not one. No OTHER SYSTEM EVEN DARES PROMISE IT. As a natural result of Socialism EVERY ONE WILL HAVE PLENTY, except the able-bodied man who refuses to work a few hours a day. "If a man will not work neither shall (nor should) he eat."

"And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." "But if ye forgive not men their trespasses neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."

Great God! by the light of this text we see Thy curse upon the whole world!—Who is it that forgives the debt he can collect by pressure, threats, or law? But, "Lord, Lord," we cannot run our business and MAKE PROFITS if we forgive our debtors" and "Lend, hoping for nothing again!" Nevertheless, "YE CANNOT SERVE GOD AND MAMMON." Choose you between the two, and adjust your government and business methods accordingly. But, "Lord, Lord," that would force us into Socialism! "What is that to thee? Follow thou Me!"

"And lead us not into temptation."

The competitive system of business so tempts men to lying, cheating, adulteration, underpaying, overcharging, wrecking competitors and cruelty to employes that it is generally conceded that pure Christianity—honesty, unselfishness, generosity—is impossible in successful business. Nearly all the time of Congress, legislatures, councils and courts (outside of the petty police court) is taken up with laws to protect so-called "property rights," of some kind, and outside of the police court, nearly all cases tried (and millions never tried) involve crimes against "property rights;" that is, the "right" of some one to wealth he did not produce and which therefore rightfully belongs to the one who did produce it. Under Socialism all the mercenary temptations of life will pass away.

"But deliver us from evil." (*Poneros*—toil, anguish, pain, calamity, malice, wickedness.)

Amen! From the evil of enslavement, exploitation, hunger, lack of education and opportunity, poverty and persecution, "O Lord, deliver us!" But he cannot remove the effects and leave the cause. The system of slavery, exploitation and impoverished workers must be destroyed. Capitalism must perish.

"For Thine is the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory forever."

Then it does not, after all, belong to Rothschild, Rockefeller, the pope, the king, or to whomsoever is strong or smart enough to take it by force or fraud!

"Amen!"

PRAISE THE LORD!

And let all the people immediately claim their full inheritance.

### "THESE THINGS SHALL BE"

JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS

These things shall be! A loftier race
Than e'er the world hath known shall rise,
With flame of freedom in their souls
And light of knowlege in their eyes.

They shall be gentle, brave, and strong,
Not to spill human blood, but dare
All that may plant man's lordship firm
On earth and fire and sea and air.

Nation with nation, land with land,
Unarmed shall live as comrades free;
In every heart and brain shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity.

New arts shall bloom, of loftier mould,
And mightier music thrill the skies;
And every life shall be a song,
When all the earth is paradise.

There shall be no more sin nor shame,
And wrath and wrong shall fettered lie;
For man shall be at one with God
In bonds of firm necessity.

The Christian Advocate calls attention to what it regards as a fact, that ministerial influence is decaying to such an extent that a politician of bad repute now considers it an advantage to be attacked in the pulpit or by a minister's association.—Christian Register.

# Extracts from "Social Forecast"

BY JOHN BASCOM, LL.D., IN NEW YORK INDEPENDENT

[Professor Bascom was born in 1827, was President of the University of Wisconsin from 1874-87, is the author of many standard works on political economy and sociology, and is now lecturer on sociology at Williams College. The advanced views in the following article are of extreme significance, coming from a man of his age and academic environment—Editor Independent.]

A spirit of forecast belongs to all knowledge, and is thought to be the best proof of its existence. Physical disease has its premonitions in the body or in the conditions which surround it. If we are observant of these admonitions, the larger share of coming evils can be escaped. Still more is this true of social disaster. Not only are the seeds of it in the soil, they are very visibly there.

In the generation just passing forms of social activity have shown themselves and social states have arisen, which cannot but greatly alter the next thirty years. The multimillionaire cannot be the member of a free State, on equal terms with his fellow citizens. This would be true under any circumstances, but is still more true when this wealth has been acquired in abuse and in defiance of economic and civil law. This additional fact shows that the tyrannical temper is present, which, opportunity favoring, will disregard all rights in behalf of personal power. We can but predict that the next generation is threatened with a still greater perversion of the conditions which belong to a free and democratic community.

The most obvious and immediately serviceable of equalities, which go with free institutions, is equality in economic opportunities. No other equality concerns so many actions, or actions on which so large a share of welfare depends. The wealth of which we are speaking has been accumulated at the expense of this equality and now threatens utterly to destroy it. One who can bring hundreds of millions to an undertaking, and by a little combination, can carry the capital invested into the billions, has a power which in comparison with that of men of ordinary means gives him complete control of large undertakings. No competition and NO FEAR OF COMPETITION accompany the development of business of this order, and unless the conception itself was a piece of folly the profits of a monopoly accrue to it at every stage. Legitimate as well as illegitimate forms of business feel at once this accumulation of power. Whether it is steel production or the stock market that is under consideration, the multimillionaire creates the conditions under which he operates. EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN BUSINESS RELATIONS HAS SUFFERED A SUDDEN OVERTHROW which the future will easily complete.

It was at one time felt that a large property would ordinarily be scattered in the next generation. This expectation does not apply to the magnitudes now contemplated, but vice, prodigality, indolence, can all shelter themselves in these immense fortunes like birds that nest in the carvings of a cathedral.

This accumulation of wealth has already destroyed political equilibrium. Political influence is won by a contribution to the expenses which attend on gaining political power. The ruling party is so pledged to the support of a given financial policy that its chief virtue comes to be standing fast in existing relations. Even the defeated party is almost equally involved in the same interested motives. If it comes into power, it cannot easily institute or carry out a scheme of reform. The same net with which its predecessor struggled in vain is at once cast over it, and it can redeem but few of the pledges it made in the hour of distress.

The hold which perverted besiness relations have on politics is seen in the railroad question. When the Interstate Commerce Commission was established it was supposed to have been granted a control which it has since lost and is struggling in vain to recover. The Commission was instituted to govern rates in behalf of the public welfare. It has sunk into a Board of Council, whose suggestions may or may not be followed. The officers of railroads to whose unfair terms much of the mischief of accumulated wealth has been due are left in control. The evil sprang up in the presence of railroads and courts, and the two are now left to correct it. The interstate commerce problem is not one of a tardy and inadequate redress of a wrong after it has been committed, but of anticipating and preventing the injury. Here is a square issue between a method that has signally failed and a better one which the people, nearly twenty years since, intended to put in its place. And yet the commercial and political worlds were never fuller of plausible reasons why the railroads and not the people, should assign the conditions of traffic.

Social equality cannot hold its ground while this abuse of privilege prevails in production and in politics. A wealthy class begins to act in vigorous modification of society.

Any approach to social equality must be united with some equality in the conditions of life. Collective production now bears this burden of unusual accumulation and expenditure, and is borne down by it. The aggregate gains, waiting to be distributed in many channels, are diverted into a few deep canyons. Ordinary effort meets with increasing obstacles and diminished returns. That separation in society between wealth and indigence, those afloat and those submerged, sets in; a separation which is itself a decay of society, which is increased by its own action, and which, so far, civilization has never escaped.

The education on which we rely to avoid these social evils, and which we have extended with so much care, begins to show traces of the change in public sentiment. Education as a means to manhood is not identical with education as a means to wealth. While the two aims are by no means opposed to each other, they may be pursued in neglect of each other. The earlier education took form when the commercial spirit was less dominant and directed its attention chiefly to general culture. Education is now becoming an opening to an occupation.

The strongest antagonism to social decay should be found in Chiristian faith, but faith slowly bends to the conditions which surround it. The Greek Church brings Russia no liberty. Our own religion goes but a little way in carrying sympathetic aid to the working class, or in arousing a sense of the service due from those who lead business. It has been no strange spectacle with us to find one ordering his economic activity in a method utterly subversive of the Kingdom of Heaven, and yet cherishing some detached notion of finding his way into that kingdom. He has provided himself with A NIGHT KEY so that, an opportune moment arising, he may leave his business companions in the street, and drop into this quiet home of the faithful.

The social facts as well as the political facts which accompany this large accumulation of wealth constitute a status which cannot but be an immediate and urgent cause of social changes. The modifications of education and religious faith of which we have spoken are merely symptoms which go to show that these new forces are taking effect and may pass into pronounced disease. It is quite within the range of possibilities that the Standard Oil magnates and their collaborators shall give date to a period in which the self assertion of a few arose once more in the face of human attainments and the hopes of the many. We hear much of induction; what a terrible induction up to the present time goes to establish rank egoism against liberty. We have instant occasion for that eternal vigilance which is not only the price, but the function of liberty.

The Republican party is fast becoming the bondman of plutocracy. Its motto is to "stand pat," careless of discussion or vindication. It has so long prospered by concession that inquiry and resistance are foreign to its spirit. The Democratic party has broken midway, one extremity plutocratic, the other democratic. There is as yet much hammering here and there, and searching the face of the rock, but the moment a workable seam shall appear many wedges are ready to be driven home. This is made obvious by the unrest of workmen, by scattered revolt in many States, as in Wisconsin, by the number, radical character and large vote of secondary parties at the last Presidential election.

Our forecast is that one of those sudden changes, which are sure to arise in times of wide pressure, will combine these forces of resistance, and with them sweep the field for another deal in human rights and one more approach toward the Kingdom of Heaven.

## WHEN AND HOW?

The extreme significance of Professor Bascom's "Social Forecast" is spoken of elsewhere. We wish here to raise the question of when and how that sweeping of the field "for another deal in human rights and one more approach toward the kingdom of Heaven," which he predicts, is likely to be realized. Is it to come "not with observation," as a quiet process of social evolution, or is it to come with the devastating storm of a French Revolution?

THAT IN ONE WAY OR THE OTHER IT WILL COME WE ENTERTAIN NO SHADOW OF A DOUBT. The ideals of political and social equality have taken too firm a hold of the minds of men to be shaken off, and neither that spirit of tyranny which Professor Bascom rightly and bravely says is now abroad in our land nor yet that subtler spirit of subservience upon which we have so often commented, the demoralizing change in public opinion and popular education, will be powerful enough in the end to down that true American instinct which Kipling has assured us is to save us at the last.

The old Democratic party, as Professor Bascom describes it without any mincing of words, has split cleanly and sharply in two, a plutocratic faction and a democratic faction. Mr. Bryan's leadership of the democratic faction does not seem at the present moment either forceful or judicious. Yet, obviously, he is the leader most likely to be followed. The Populists and the Socialists are at war with each other and among themselves, and still more hopelessly at war with the Bryan Democracy. All this is discouraging. The one encouraging fact in the situation is that the aggregate strength of these forces is increasing. They need only great unifying ideas and the organizing vitality of great leadership.

Of the indifference and cowardice of the educated classes it is difficult to speak with information and sure judgment. Like the Democratic party, the educated element in American society must inevitably split sooner or later. The men who care supremely for ease and social position must more and more align themselves with the plutocrats, becoming, as Mr. Ghent pointed out in his "Benevolent Feudalism," the most efficient agents of the privileged order. IN ALL AGES A SYCOPHANT PRIESTHOOD HAS BEEN THE MOST EFFECTIVE POLICE POWER OF THE OPPRESSOR, the apologist for his crimes, and the soother of his conscience.

BUT IN ALL AGES OF OPPRESSION THE PROPHET ALSO HAS ARISEN AS THE FEARLESS AND WRATHFUL ARRAIGNER OF THE SUBSERVIENT PRIEST, and happily, indications are not lacking that the class of the fearless prophets exists among us, and that it will increase in numbers and in power.

(Continued on Page 3)

## Extracts from "Social Forecast"

(*Continued from Page 2*)

After all the answer to our question of when and how turns absolutely upon the vigor and fearlessness of discussion. The sociological law that has ruled in human affairs from the dawn of history until now will not be abrogated. Physical fighting and intellectual fighting vary inversely to each other. When we have vigorous, intellectual fighting we bring about inevitable social changes, rationally, peacefully, constructively. When men become intellectual and moral cowards the day when the sword of steel must be unsheathed is not far distant.—Editorial in New York Independent.

### THE MAUL AND WEDGE

Perhaps many of the wealthy and self complacent readers of the New York Independent will conclude that it is no longer sufficiently "respectable, safe and conservative" to merit their support; but

"All common good has common price,
Exceeding good, exceeding;
Christ bought the keys of Paradise
By cruel bleeding;"

and, whatever it may cost the Independent to print such bold, advanced and significant ideas as we have been quoting from it lately, the result will fully justify the cost.

Yes, Prof. Bascom, "many wedges are ready to be driven home" in the fissured face of the rock of industrial and commercial tyranny in America. Some are of unseasoned wood, too soft, and some are of dry and will splinter beneath the maul. But one is of well-chilled, solid steel, formed by ages of evolution, melted in the fires of human suffering, shaped and tempered by countless generations of the class-struggle. It is called "collectivism." The maul is also of ancient steel, formed by the same severe processes, heavy, unbreakable, irresistible, and is known by the name of "Economic Determinism." The Socialist party is the handle and countless multitudes of eager hands are grasping it to swing the maul and drive the wedge deep into the parting rock. Lend a hand.

And, Mr. Editor, do not fear bloody revolution from the Socialist side. The slave owners refused the verdict of the ballots, appealed to bullets and lost. The greatest force for industrial and political peace today is the Socialist Party which urges the ballot in place of the strike, or insurrection, and knows that only by education can the people be aroused to true liberty. And when this party becomes large enough by education to carry elections it will be large enough to carry so many guns that the slave-drivers will know well the futility of appealing to *force*. The slow, solid, ceaseless growth of the Socialist party is the best hope of a peaceful and satisfactory solution of the problems of social justice. It is getting ready to direct the political upheaval when it comes.

—E. E. C.

The Japanese minister at Paris said that Christian nations would not recognize Japan as a civilized country until she had slaughtered her hundred thousand enemies upon the field of battle. An awful commentary upon "Christian civilization."

A startling "sign of the times" was that both Harlan and Dunne, rival candidates for mayor of Chicago on the Republican and Democratic tickets, were compelled by popular sentiment to declare for public ownership of the street car lines. The people are awaking. But the student of economics knows that public ownership is not Socialism. It tends that way, but will do the workers very little good until THEY OWN THEIR JOBS AND ALL THE PRODUCTS OF THEIR LABOR.

So long as preachers are seriously discussing Dr. MacArthur's theory, "which startled (?) the country a few days ago," that the present conflict between Japan and Russia is the battle of Armageddon, the final struggle between the forces of good and evil on earth, thoughtful men may be *amused*, or even *disgusted*, but not IMPRESSED with the ministry. Nor will Satanic powers soon tremble and forsake their ancient thrones in our many social hells. One can almost hear their derisive laughter.

"You can't walk straight in a crooked street." Men cannot practice the Golden Rule while their hands are at each other's throats for a job or something, the possession of which is essential to their existence—Clarion Call.

## THE BERGER CASE

The Christian Socialist will avoid taking sides with any faction, so far as possible, and deeply regrets the intemperate discussion of the Berger incident. In so far as it is a question of party policy, it is well to discuss the incident thoroughly; but the eager haste with which certain ones have seized this incident to vent their personal spleen against Berger is in very bad taste and of great danger to the party.

Knowing Victor L. Berger, and not always agreeing with him, I believe him to be one of the ablest and most loyal Socialists of America. Knowing Gaylord, Thompson, Thomas and the other Wisconsin leaders, and having visited dozens of the leading Branches of the state, I am convinced that the movement there is as true, vigorous and well-organized as that of any other state. They have carried on a marvelous campaign and have made tremendous and genuine progress. And the proposition—on such a pretext—to invade Wisconsin, ignore the leaders who have made the movement there and "reorganize" one of the best organizations in the nation, is utterly preposterous; and such an attempt, in the circumstances, would be absolutely criminal.

With our party there on the eve of carrying Milwaukee; with the grand and noble record of our members in the city council and the state legislature; with the prospect of soon sending congressmen from that state, and with the greatest need of a united front against a well-nigh irresistible, common foe, let us do nothing to disrupt the party, let us drop personalities, cease this silly heresy hunt and bid Berger and the Wisconsin movement God-speed upon their triumphant way.

It would be grievous beyond expression and an infamous outrage if Berger should be dealt with in a manner so unbrotherly and unjust as to drive him from the party after his whole life has been heroically dedicated to building up the movement. I trust he will not allow himself to be provoked into doing anything rash.

The Wisconsin Committee is surely unwise and unjust—though not intentionally so—in holding aloof in part from the National Organization. Wisconsin should come fully into the fold. And under our new Constitution allowing proportional representation, in order to get its full representation, Wisconsin will have to pay its full quoto of dues—which will tend rapidly to correct the present error in its conduct at this point.

And I think Berger made a mistake in recommending a choice "between two evils" when there was no Socialist candidate to vote for, but he has prominent leaders in France and Germany in agreement with him in this matter, and we should not be too harsh nor hasty in condemning him. It is a subject we must study dispassionately and decide at some future National Convention. There is more danger to the Socialist movement from internal jealousies, disputes and splits than from bribes and opposition from without. Many a great cause has failed solely on account of internal troubles. Let us have all possible peace within and a great united campaign against the merciless forces of Capitalism.

There are spots on the sun. Berger is far from perfection in judgment and character; but he is a true Socialist and a hero. God bless him.—E. E. C.

### The U. S. Government Vs. Teamsters

The United States government is involved at Chicago in another war against workmen,—the first since the great strike of 1894. United States District Judge Kohlsaat has issued a sweeping injunction against the striking teamsters and the wagons of Montgomery, Ward & Co., are loaded with armed men to shoot down any who interfere or block the way. The government exists apparently for the sole purpose of protecting capital against the labor it has robbed. This another demonstration of the purpose of capitalist government, coming so soon after the triumph(?) of municipal ownership in Chicago, will do more than ten thousand Socialist speeches to show the absolute necessity of the complete overthrow of the capitalist government and the establishment of Socialism. The powers of government must be captured by the workers and used for them alone. No others have any rights. The creators of wealth must own it.

### THE STAINED GLASS WINDOW

Two beautiful booklets have just been issued from the Ariel Press, Westwood, Mass., by Rev. George E. Littlefield: "The Stained Glass Window" and "How They Live in Vale Sunrise." Only six cents each.

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EDITORS:

EDWARD ELLIS CARR, - - - Danville, Illinois
OSCAR F. DONALDSON, - - - Webster City, Iowa

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE, - - Boston, Massachusetts
PAUL H. CASTLE, - - - Central Park, Montana
J. STITT WILSON, - - - - Berkeley, California
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## ECHOES OF EASTER

There are some ministers who deny the rumor so current in Ministerial Associations that the churches are failing to reach the masses. They cite the Easter throngs that filled SOME of the churches. But they forgot several things:

1. The Easter celebrations, with their extra music, extra decorations and new bonnets, are regarded by multitudes as an entertainment and not as a means of worship. Free shows are generally well attended.

2. There are many who revere Christ who care not for the church and attend only at the celebration of some special event in his life.

3. The vast majority of the church-members practically ignore the Gospel of Christ—indeed they deny its practicability—and are unchristian in their lives.

4. The Church has never seriously attempted AS AN INSTITUTION the work of relieving human distress to which Christ and the Apostolic Church devoted the most of their time. The world is in want and woe unrelieved after 1900 years of churchianity. There is scarcely a city in America where the Church equals the Lodge in works of mercy and help. The Catholics are doing better than most in America, but under the shadow of the Vatican, where the Pope hoards his millions, Italy's poor suffer the torture and hopelessness of hell and are steeped in ignorance black as midnight. And wherever the Church "thrives" today (the few exceptions will prove the rule) it does so by fawning upon the rich and well-to-do at the expense of the exploited poor. No man who preaches what Jesus and his apostles did on the subject of riches can hold his place in a "leading" (which way?) pulpit today. The Church is unchristian. THE INFIDELITY OF THE CHURCH IS THE CURSE OF THE WORLD. All other infidelity will vanish like mist when the sunburst of a faithful Church illumines the nations.

5. After 1900 years there is not one person in five hundred over all the earth, and not one in ten even in "Christian" lands, who is trying day by day to be Christ-like in business, politics, society, home and personal life, that is, to be a real Christian, through and through.

It is true that there are more Catholics, more Methodists, more Presbyterians, etc., than there were one hundred years ago, but scarcely more in proportion to population. There are also more Mohammedans and more Buddists. And even numerically the Church has failed. 1,000 years, much more 1900 years, should have seen the entire conquest of the globe, not only numerically, but in spirit and in truth.

"But the world is so wicked!" No! the world needs LIGHT, EXAMPLE and HELP which the Church fails to give and which God requires of the Church. I repeat: THE INFIDELITY OF THE CHURCH IS THE CURSE OF THE WORLD.

"Does not the Church BELIEVE the Gospel and celebrate Christmas and Easter with great spendor?" Yes, but "Devils also believe and tremble."

"WHY CALL YE ME LORD, LORD, AND DO NOT THE THINGS WHICH I SAY?"

The minister who professes himself in anywise satisfied with the present progress and state of the Church is certainly blinding his own eyes to the most stupendous, shameful and terrible facts. Facts which every true minister must learn, must weep and struggle over, must reveal to the Church. Facts which the Church must be made to see, must meet and must conquer.

I believe in the Church. Especially do I believe the Gospel of Christ; and I believe the Church is on the eve of another "reformation," "revival," upheaval, greater than any since Apostolic times.

I BELIEVE IN THE RESURRECTION OF THE CHURCH. The Church must qualify to save the world. Only thus can she save herself.

Brethren, I beseech you, do not throw dust in your own eyes! Pray God to give you a view of the Church as it actually is, with all its worldliness, infidelity and ungodliness. Pray also for a vision of what it might be, should be, MUST BE. Then work and pray for the resurrection of the Church—for the real salvation of the world.

"Thy Kingdom come, Thy Will be done
IN EARTH, as it is in Heaven."

Do not postpone salvation to the future life. The weary old world needs it now.

E. E. C.

## THE GOLDEN AGE

BY BENJAMIN C. MOOMAW

Hemmed in as a discouraged thrall
Who tramps the endless mill,
And gazes on the flinty wall
Which bound his anxious life and binds his will,

At length the weary toiler sees
A sudden window rise,
And like a lovely spring-time pour
Its glorious light on his astonished eyes.

As in a cavern dark and deep
The traveler gropes forlorn,
Until beyond the awful gloom
The opening mouth reveals the radiant morn,

So from the ages of the past,
Filled with it's gloom and tears,
Humanity comes forth at last
To the bright vision of millennial years.

Barbaric prison doors unfold,
And chains to pieces fly;
The soul resumes its God-like mould,
And unexpected wings explore the sky.

* * * *

Do we inspect the storied page
Which glorifies the brave,
And point to that heroic age
When freedom rose triumphant from the grave?

A fond delusion mocks our pains;
Freedom but half is free;
For yet a grievous slavery reigns
O'er all this boasted land of liberty.

The iron hand of heavy toil,
The stinging lash of want;
The bondage of repulsive moil,
And phantom Hunger, horrible and gaunt.

Incessant care, while hope retires
Beyond the farthest ken,
And love and fear alike inspires
The desperate struggle of despairing men.

The myriad poor who daily bear
The tyranny of wealth,
Until the dungeons of dispair
Are red with blood, and hideous with death.

* * * *

But new celestial hopes inspire
The bright, prophetic page;
Behold yon grand auroral fire,
It is the dawning of a golden age.

Through heaven's ethereal realm, afar,
A glorious angel flies,
While wondering nations pause to hear
His trumpet tones resounding through the skies:

"For those who work and those who wait
The Christ will come again;—
Make every crooked pathway straight;
Prepare the nations for his glorious reign."

Ben, Va.

# A DELUSION

BY WILLIAM WHATELY

Many Socialist writers and speakers have in the past taught the notion that, because the workers receive in purchasing-power less than the value of the goods they have produced, therefore the surplus goods must necessarily accumulate and bring about a glut in the market, and that these recurring gluts are the cause of panics and "hard times."

This notion, however plausible at first sight, turns out on examination to involve a mathematical fallacy. For there are but two conditions necessary in order that all the commodities made should be sold: first, that *somebody* should have the entire purchasing power equal to the value of all the goods purchased; and, second, that an accurate estimate shall have been made in advance of what sorts of things, and what quantity of each, will be wanted by those who will possess the purchasing power.

As to the first of these requirements,—i. e., that somebody should have the purchasing power,—it is not at all necessary that it should be the producers who have this purchasing power, for as long as *some* one has it, no matter who, buying will go on and the wheels will keep turning. Now, some one *has* all the purchasing power equal to the "surplus value" of the products: the capitalists who own the establishments have it, and reserving that part which they use on new plant (in the form of investment) and that part which they use on the necessities and luxuries they themselves buy and consume, they pass on the rest of this purchasing power to their "sisters and their cousins and their aunts," and to all the vast army of retainers. It is therefore clear that the entire purchasing power corresponding to the aggregate values created by the producers is held by SOME one, ready to be used in buying such things as the possessors of that power want; and hence no glut can arise from the fact that the worker receives less than the value of what he produces.

The second requisite for keeping the wheels turning is that by some advance arrangement the right amount shall be produced of each class of commodities—so much of the necessities,—so much of luxuries,—so much of new machinery and other plant; and, specifically, the right amount of each particular commodity; to meet the demand which will exist among those who will have the purchasing power. Under the regime of competitive capitalism, this requisite is fairly well provided for in automatic fashion, without any concert of the owners of the various establishments,—from the fact that a manufacturer will not, as a rule, pile up stock in excess of advance orders. No doubt a man here and there comes to grief by exceeding this principle, but these excesses tend to correct themselves continually.

While most Socialist teachers have dropped the doctrine of glut arising from surplus value, a few still insist upon it, and add to it a tremendous corollary, i. e., that we are on the verge of a final irrecoverable glut, which will bring the wheels of industry to a stand-still, and which will compel the capitalists themselves to appeal to the proletariat to take the management of industry into their own hands! These prophets are fond of saying that crises are becoming more frequent and more severe, and are inevitably leading up to the one final crisis and catastrophe.

The prophecy rests on false premises. For, if, under a regime of free competitive capitalism, a kind of automatic co-ordination of the various classes of production has gone on which has sufficed to bring recovery after every crisis, still less possibility is there of a stand-still happening under the trust regime, since the perfected trust of trusts will be able to study in advance and determine very closely the quantities of the several products which will be demanded year by year by those who will have the purchasing power. This unified combination of capital will therefore be able indefinitely to continue a system of regulated production and of sale of all that is produced, without paying any higher than a subsistence wage to the workers. The problem of the Trust will be simply to take the surplus value of the workers' production in the forms, first, of such new plant as the Trust can use, and second, of luxuries for the magnates and the multitude of retainers, rank below rank. Our prophets of cataclysm maintain that this will be a problem impossible of solution: that the machinery and plant will soon all be built and that the privileged classes will soon reach the limit of what they can consume. Neither of these propositions corresponds to what we see about us in the world; for, in the first place, the equipment of the world with the latest and most effective of machinery, plant and buildings, has only just been begun; and, in the second place, the amount of the labor of other human beings which one privileged human being can consume in delicacies of art, ornament and pleasure is immense. The problem of the Trust will certainly be soluble, for, at the worst, it can be met by raising the wages of the higher ranks of labor, leaving the great mass at the subsistence level.

We may as well, therefore, recognize that the industrial feudalism now being established is, economically, a stable system;—involving as it does, a nearly perfect adjustment of supply to effective demand, and producing no more intermittent starvation than is needful in order to keep the masses grateful for work. It is vain to look for any intrinsic self-destroying element in this system; so far as economic causes are concerned, it could endure for centuries. Only political causes can lead to its downfall. Only the permeation of the masses by the Socialist democratic spirit, and the propagating among them of the determination to be masters of their own destinies, can be depended on to bring on the revolution. The walls of Jericho will not fall of their own accord, nor at the trumpet blast of the most ardent and insistent of heroes; only by assault can the stronghold be taken. Great is the pity, then, that leaders who might arouse an effective enthusiasm, should resign themselves to a delusion.

The average "man on the street" is possessed with an abiding sense of the power and solidity of the commercial structure, and when one tells him, with the voice of a prophet, that all this is to fall about our ears of itself shortly, the prophecy has an air of unreality and makes all the rest of the Socialist message sound like a fairy story, as well. On the other hand, the Socialist teacher who points first to the impending despotism of the Trust, and then to the foolishness of trying to bring back the free competitive regime, is speaking of what the hearer feels are realities, and can then drive home the Socialist moral which the mind so prepared cannot shake off. Therefore, every way, the duty lies on the teacher of Socialism, to give over predictions of cataclysm.

## MUST OWN THE CLUBS

The Socialists of Chicago solemnly warned the working men before election that it was not so much municipal ownership of street railways, etc., that the working people need as the ownership of the policemen's clubs; that is, THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT must be in the hands of the producers to use for themselves and not for their "masters" and exploiters. Already, in the strike of the Tailors and Teamsters against Montgomery, Ward & Co., the meaning of the Socialist argument is made plain. All the powers of the city government are being used by the new "public ownership" Mayor to crush the strikers and protect the capitalists. If it were not for the PARTIALITY of the police power—the city government—against the strikers, they would easily win. The workers must own the policemen's clubs and all the military powers of government before they can hope for justice and a government for the people's welfare. Until then the rich will obtain protection in their opportunities of graft and the poor must suffer wholesale robbery. This is why the Socialist program—and not a mere public ownership program—must be carried out. So only can the problem of the class struggle be solved.

## ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN

### IF HAPLY HE MAY WIN VOTES

The following is a breakfast served by President Roosevelt to the rough riders at his inauguration:

Manhattan Cocktails (extra large)

Breakfast Food. Fried Oysters.

STRAIGHT WHISKY.

Planked Shad, Potomac Style.

Fried Chicken a la Maryland.

THREE STAR BRANDY, High Balls (in series).

Chocolate Eclaire. Cheese.

Cigars. WHISKEY. BRANDY.

Then notice the following:

Philadelphia, March 6.—At the weekly meeting of the Baptist ministers today, the following message from President Roosevelt was read:

"God giving me grace and strength, I will do the right as He gives me the grace to see it."

The message was received with enthusiasm by the clergymen.

Drunken cowboys and Baptist preachers is a combination that would make a brass bulldog smile.—The Real Issue.

# THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM

That the subject of Socialism has been forced into public notice in the most remarkable manner by the large vote of last November is proven by the liberal space given to the subject by leading papers and magazines and by the speeches of prominent men. The following extracts from Frank A. Vanderlip's excellent article on "The Progress of Socialism" in the February Scribner's is a fair sample. We regret that our space permits reprinting only a small part of this elaborate and illuminating treatise:

Socialism is a live political factor in Europe. There is a wave of Socialism flowing over the whole Continent, reaching heights of much importance in Germany, Belgium, and France, and giving a distinct trend to political life in Austria and Italy.

It is of great importance to us because of the vital effect which the success of the socialist parties would have on European institutions and upon the social and industrial conditions there. Of even wider importance, however, is this great political and social movement, because it foreshadows a tendency which we are likely to see gain great force in our own country. It seems to me not improbable that we shall, in the next few years, hear much of Socialism in our own political life.

In France, the clerical question, absorbing the main energies of all parties for several years, as it has, is second only in political importance to the problems which the growth of Socialism has there brought into prominence. The position of the Socialists in influencing public affairs is much strengthened by the fact that they have been essential allies of the Republicans in their struggle with the Church. As has been indicated in a former article, the Socialists have presented a solid front with the Republicans in the whole program of Republican Defence, and now that a decisive defeat has been dealt the Clerical party, the Socialists are demanding support from the Republicans. The position of the Republicans makes the support of the Socialists necessary to them, and it is logical that the Government program will in greater and greater degree recognize Socialist demands. It is probable that we shall see in France much parliamentary attention given to legislation which has for its object the amelioration of the condition of the working people.

The adoption of a scheme for old age pensions and the imposition of an income tax are now favored by the ministry.

The chief practical success which French socialism has gained thus far, however, has been the acquisition of municipal power. Many of the larger cities of France are now controlled by Socialist councils. Before 1892 the Socialists had a majority in only one town council—in Saint Ouen—but since then they have succeeded in securing majorities in ten other important town councils, including such cities as as Lille, Marseilles, and Calais. The municipal council of Paris has a Socialist group so important as to strongly influence its actions. In those towns where the Socialists have a majority they frequently pass radical measures for the benefit of the laboring classes, but those measures are always vetoed by the prefects, who have an absolute veto power. The prefects pronounce such legislation as outside the council's jurisdiction. In that way the power of the Socialists in municipal affairs is sharply limited.

In Belgium Socialism is one of the strongest of the present political forces. It is natural to find in that country a fertile field in which to spread socialist doctrines, for it is a country with a great industrial population and a comparatively small number who devote themselves to agriculture. The greatest energy is shown there in the systematic inculcation of socialistic ideas. Not only is there thorough organization in the cities, but the proselyting is pushed into the agricultural districts. On Sundays in Belgium it is a common thing to see squads of bicycle riders passing along the country roads distributing socialistic literature to the peasants or waiting outside the doors of the little country churches to hand out their socialist tracts.

In the cities the strength of the Socialists became so great that the railroad administration, which is in the hands of the Government, thought to help the industrial employers and increase the supply of workmen by organizing a series of working men's trains. Greatly reduced fares were put in force on these trains, and they transported to the cities and to the industrial centers great numbers of working men who lived in the country and who had not yet taken up socialist ideas. The Government's expectation of making headway against the working men's combinations has not been realized. It has turned out that the new laborers thus brought to the cities have quickly taken up the doctrines and ideas of the dwellers in the towns, and the recent progress of the Socialist party has been mainly made among the inhabitants of those small villages.

Socialism in Belgium has developed largely in the direction of co-operative enterprises. In that particular it has taken a firmer hold in that country than elsewhere. Co-operative evolution is already too far advanced for any opposition by the State to be effective.

There are nearly two thousand co-operative societies in Belgium, with a million consumers. Fully one-seventh of the total population belong to these institutions. They are flourishing institutions, too, showing good management and important economic results.

All members of the workmen's party are members of some co-operative organization, so that the co-operative and the political movements have gone hand in hand. In the small villages the first co-operative establishment is generally a bakery, and this becomes the nucleus of a large co-operative industrial company later. There is successful co-operation, too, in the purely agricultural communities, in the form of associations for buying supplies and for selling the produce of the farms. The farmers believe that a central control over the marketing of their products has greatly increased their income. It has tended to eliminate unnecessary competition and to better adapt the supply to the demand.

The Socialist party in Belgium now has over five hundred thousand votes, and, considering its relations to the co-operative establishments, probably controls a larger amount of capital than any other political party. In some respects they may have impractical ideals, but on the whole their program is one which must inevitably work toward the uplifting and better living of the dense industrial population.

In Austria, where the conditions of suffrage are unfavorable to Socialists, they have returned only 11 members to the Reichsrat. Although the party shows a total strength of nearly 1,000,000 votes, the class system of voting gives it small representation.

In Sweden there is only one Socialist member of Parliament, and in Switzerland there is also one. Although Socialism has shown no vitality in the Scandinavian countries, there has been a great dovelopment of the co-operative enterprise there.

Italian Socialists show considerable political vitality, and the revolutionary phase is emphasized there. The party demands universal suffrage for adults of both sexes; greater freedom of organization, of public meetings, and of combination; religious equality; a national militia in place of the standing army; neutrality of the government in disputes between capital and labor; a more humane penal code; the nationalization of the railroads and mines; effective compulsory education; old-age pensions; the establishment of a ministry of labor, and the payment of deputies and members of local councils. The Italian Socialists have shown a pretty steady growth in the last decade.

In England there are but two Socialist members of Parliament, and one of them, John Burns, is hardly considered a Socialist by the members of the party. In spite of that there is to be found in England an impressive manifestation of socialistic tendencies. Its development is in connection with the municipal ownership of public utilities. What is called "gas and water socialism" has generally been the beginning of these municipal enterprises.

In the last German election nearly one-third of the 9,500,000 votes were polled for the Social-Democratic candidates. The result of that election shows a loss of nearly 30 per cent. by the agrarian groups, and a gain of 43 per cent. by the Social Democrats. It was the sort of a thing that we call, in our politics, a land-slide. Every session of the Reichstag for eighteen years, however, has shown an increasing number of seats occupied by the Social Democrats, so that the great gains of the last election did not indicate a turning over of public sentiment. It rather represented a culmination of those influences which have been adding strength to the Social-Democratic party ever since the first session of the Reichstag in 1871, when only one Social Democrat sat on the extreme left.

The Social Democrats now poll a majority of votes in nearly every capital city, every great mercantile marine port, and in all the great industrial centers. They are handicapped by unfair representation. If the true expression of the will of the German people were reflected in the Reichstag the Social Democrats would be in a commanding position there.

Although the Social Democrats polled 3,010,000 votes, or 32 per cent. of the total, they have only 81 seats in the Reichstag, which is composed of 397 members. The Centre, with a popular vote of 1,850,000, has 100 seats in the Reichstag. If there had been fair representation and an equal distribution of political rights the Social Democrats would have 125 members and would have been the strongest group in the Chamber. Berlin has 6 members of the Reichstag, but on a fair plan of distribution would have 20.

The point of view of the Social Democrats, without doubt, rests in large measure on a sound appreciation of economic facts. They have seen at close range the effect of modern economic development. They have noted the substitution of machinery for hand labor and the stifling of small industries by great and more efficient industrial combinations. They offer no plan to oppose such development. They recognize that it is in the line of economic evolution. But they are convinced that it has deprived, and will continue to deprive in an increasing degree, the individual worker of the means of independent production. The result, they believe, is the creation of a new social order, and there must in time be a readjustment of economic conditions to meet the change. There is no disposition violently to overthrow existing conditions.

The Social Democracy has been wonderfully fortunate in the devotion and pure motives of its leaders. One sometimes hears the influence of August Bebel likened to that of the Pope in the extent to which he requires and wins the fidelity and obedience of radical elements noted in other countries for diversity of views and for restlessness under restraint. This great man ought not to be judged alone by his utterances in public speeches. He has an oratorical passion that sometimes goes far beyond his generally cool judgment and moderate views. Herr Bebel even in the opinion of the court, is, I believe, first a lover of Germany, and second an implacable enemy of privilege and humbug. He has a vast talent for organization and for the selection and phrasing of issues. The millions of the poor behind him believe, and doubtless, justly, that his courage and discriminating devotion to them is without bounds.

There have been only two cases in twenty-seven years where

*(Continued on Page 7)*

# Knights of the Cross

The New Crusade Is Not for the Rescue of the Tomb of Christ from the Hands of Moslem Infidels, but for the Rescue of His Glorious Gospel from the Whited Sepulchre of Modern Capitalism, which is the Worst Infidelity of All Time. For This We will Bear Our Cross and Wage Unceasing Warfare

## To Reach Y. M. C. A. Workers

A loyal supporter of class-conscious Christian Socialism in the East has subscribed $20.00 per month to send the Christian Socialist to every Young Men's Christian Association in the United States and Canada for one year. God bless him.

## A NEW EDITION

The Fourth Edition of our Saloon number is exhausted, but we will print more, so send in your orders as fast as you can. This number ought to reach every preacher, teacher, temperance man and Prohibitionist on the American continent.

## THE CARTOON POSTER

Many have desired our big Tree Cartoon (in the Saloon number) to be published in the form of a full sheet poster to paste on the walls and fences. We have been figuring on the cost of such a large cut with the engravers, and have decided to arrange for it if we can receive $50 worth of orders as follows:

100 full sheet posters on strong paper.....$3.00
200 full sheet posters on strong paper.....$5.00
500 full sheet posters on strong paper.....$10.00

Order a bundle of these. You need not send the money until you have notice that $50 worth have been ordered. This will be a startling and impressive propaganda to place upon walls and fences to stare at passers by. Get your branch interested and order as soon as you can.

Comrades have you tried to get the preachers in your vicinity to subscribe for the Christian Socialist?

"It is easy to get subscribers for the Christian Socialist" writes one of the comrades.

Some are ordering bundles of Christian Socialists to distribute at religious services. Excellent idea.

Several public libraries are asking for the Christian Socialist as a donation. We are unable to meet this demand for lack of funds. Will not some of the comrades donate money to meet this demand? It would do the paper and the cause much good to have a copy in every library in the United States and Canada. It would help remove the idea which so many have (even some Socialists) that Socialism is hostile to religion.

Many are sending us lists of names for samples which we are unable to fill for lack of funds. Comrades, "save your money and buy a" bunch of Christian Socialist samples.

We are very grateful that, through the generosity of a friend, the Christian Socialist now goes to 981 Y. M. C. Associations on this continent.

Oh, for money enough to send at least three different samples to every preacher and teacher in America!

Charles H. Kerr and Co., 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago, can furnish Ghent's matchless book, "Mass and Class," in paper cover for only 25c. Get one quick. If you have read it, get one to loan.

## Progress of Socialism

(Continued from Page 6)

there has been such a split in the Socialist party of any district that they have put up two candidates for the same election.

The tremendous increase in the vote of the Social Democrats in Germany, while it has failed to give to that party anything like a proportionate representation in the Reichstag, has nevertheless had marked influence on legislative action. On the part of all the other parties there appears to be a wholesome fear of the increasing power of the Socialists and they are ready to adopt, not only any unfair means that they may devise to compass the Socialists' defeat, but they are quite ready to make concessions and attempt to placate the dissatisfied workmen. No other country has gone so far as Germany in legislating in the interests of the working class. The system of old-age pensions is the most notable example of such legislation. By Bismark's own admission, the measure was designed to take the wind out of the sails of Socialism. It was believed that the interest which every workman would be given in the Government through a prospective pension would furnish the motive for securing the support of the working classes for the Government side. The ill success of the scheme from that standpoint is apparent. Nevertheless, the direst foes of Socialism, after the great victory of the Social Democrats in the last election, called for further labor reform legislation as an antidote against the spirit of Socialism. Thus, the state, as an antidote to Socialism, adopts measure after measure of a distinctly socialistic character.

Beyond all question, many of the things which the Socialists are striving for are economically sound, ethically just and politically desirable. They are fighting class privilege and the traditions of caste; they are struggling for a fairer franchise and more truly representative government. They are everywhere the party which upholds the rights of the weak, and more earnestly than any other party they seek to secure to every citizen political equality and individual liberty.

## HOW TO GET BOOKS

For a club of six new subscribers to the Christian Socialist we will send you postpaid a copy of either of the following excellent ONE DOLLAR books:

The Captive City of God, by Richard Heath, of England. The best book on Socialism and the Church.

Rebels of the New South, by Walter Marion Raymond. The most delightful Socialist novel published.

The Recording Angel, by Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. So thrillingly interesting that people sit up till three a. m. to finish it.

The Evolution of Property, by Paul Lafargue, the celebrated French scholar.

The International Socialist Review, a monthly periodical of scientific Socialism.

The Being With the Upturned Face, by Rev. Clarence Lathbury, a remarkably inspiring work on the inherent grandeur and possibility of the human soul, beautiful in typographical art.

"The Soul's Love Letter," by Mabel, an artless autobiography of a good woman, revealing her aspiration, temptation, sorrow, struggle, joy.

For a club of eight subscribers we will send "Mass and Class," the great book by W. J. Ghent, price $1.25. Or,

The White Terror and the Red, by A. Cahan, one of the Terrorists, a timely, thrilling and instructive story of Russian revolution.

For a club of twelve subscribers we will send the Nestor of Socialist books "The Struggle for Existence," by Walter Thomas Mills, price $2.50.

For two subscribers we will send a copy of Robert Hunter's famous book, Poverty. Paper cover, price 25c.

Rev. E. E. Carr has returned from a protracted meeting in the Presbyterian Church, Carlinville, Ill., of which Rev. W. H. Parker is pastor. It was truly a "revival", a requickening of the members of the church—the first special meeting for ten years. The "visible" results were a dozen conversions or reclamations and two score members who testify to special illumination and blessing which mark an epoch in their religious lives. There was deep digging about the roots of the trees and the plainest demand for clean, Spirit-filled lives and unselfish social-service. There was no trifling and the good results of such a meeting will be manifest for generations.

"The Bible and Socialism," by Rev. George W. Woodbey, is a carefully made booklet which will be helpful to any student of historical economics, especially to one who believes the Bible. It may be obtained at this office for 20 cents, postage prepaid.